69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Laotians AM8

ooo tasted of earth and bitter herbs when a commotion aroused us. Hurrying from the restaurant we saw Dupont's dog busy with carrion in a nearby field, surrounded by an excited huddle of vultures for whose benefit it had been exposed there. Dupont's cries of horror were interrupted by the whistle of the convoy-commander, who this time signalled for all officers to gather round
494 him. He told them that seventy Issaraks[1] were reported to be in
● 669 ambush, awaiting us at Kilometre 115 — about twenty miles further
725 on. They were turned out in new American uniforms, he said, and were well armed. At Kilometre 115 a cross-country track leading from Siam into Viet-Nam crossed our route. It occurred to both Dupont and myself that if this report was several hours old, it was not likely that the Issarak would be in the place where they were first seen. However, the official view taken was that they would not have moved more than five kilometres down the road in our direction, because orders were given for the infantry escort to dismount from their lorries at Kilometre 110 and to precede the convoy on foot for the next five kilometres. We noticed, too, that the officer assumed that the Issarak, if they had moved at all, would have inevitably marched towards us, and not in the other direction, because, once Kilometre 115 had been reached, the danger would be officially declared at an end, and the infantry ordered back into their lorries.

137 We now entered a country of low, bare hills; a whitish landscape, rarely animated by wandering pink-skinned buffaloes. In the hollows there were islands of splendid vegetation — flamboyant trees, arranged as if by design, with giant ferns and feathery bamboos. Peacocks gleamed in abandoned paddy fields, and storks, flapping away at our approach, trailed their legs in pools of yellow marsh-water. The vegetation was sensitive to quite small variations in altitude. The valley-bottoms were choked with bamboo thickets, and slender, segmented canes, wreathed in blue convolvulus, curved over our path like coachmen's whips, flicking us as we passed beneath. At this level the ditches were full of dead butterflies

[1] [i.e., "free men" of Laos and Cambodia. -- Analyst]

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM 1 Indochina
Laotians AM 8

A DRAGON APPARENT

000 Up till the last fraction of a second before a thousand graceful stems screened it from our view it was still upright and quite level. The soldiers in it had hardly risen from their seats and raised their arms not so much in alarm, it seemed, as to wave farewell.

Soon after, the infantry climbed down from the lorries and began their march in single file along the sides of the road in front. This manœuvre seemed to me not only useless but dangerous, since nothing could have been easier for ambushers than to let the soldiers go by and then destroy the defenceless vehicles. In the spirit of one who whistles in the dark to keep his courage up, the armoured car ahead occasionally opened up with its machine-guns and 2-cm. cannon, provoking, to the great discomfort of the following cars, one small forest fire. We never heard that the enemy
494 was other than imaginary. At five in the afternoon we crawled into the village of Vang Vieng, having done about twenty miles since mid-day.

133 Vang Vieng was just such another village as the one where we had had our mid-day Chinese soup, but it was set in the most staggering surroundings. Overhanging it was a range of mountains which were not very high, since the peaks only reached 8000 feet, but which did not look like any mountains I had ever seen before. There was no visual preparation by a gently rising foreground of foothills. These were stupendous walls of rock rising 4000, 5000 and 6000 feet sheer out of an absolutely flat plain. We were overhung, as it were, by a huge scrabbling in the sky, which at its base had been erased by mists. Dupont said that we would pass over these mountains that night.

494 It was at Vang Vieng that Dupont had planned to slip away. His
725 resolution was only slightly shaken when it was announced that the
669 whole convoy would stay in the village overnight, owing to the presence of a small force of Viet-Minh, which the infantry would have to clear out, in a village fifteen kilometres further along the

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Laotians AM8

road; but as all the men were thoroughly tired this operation would 494
be postponed till early next morning. Dupont was determined not 725
to stay in Vang Vieng, but even he seemed to think twice about 669
deliberately disobeying the convoy-commander's orders, and when
he finally did so it was done in gentle stages, rather than in one
flagrant act of insubordination. The excuse given for this phobia
about Vang Vieng was that all the sleeping space would be taken
up and we should find nowhere to stretch out comfortably.

We were still filthy from our travels; sweat-soaked and covered 494
in bright yellow dust, through which the perspiration trickled down
regular courses. As part of his campaign Dupont suggested that
we should have a meal first and after that get permission from the
convoy-commander to go for a bathe in a river, twelve kilometres
down the road, where we should still be three kilometres short of
the village with the Viet-Minh. Dupont described this river as if
it had magical curative properties. It came out of a cave not far
away, he said, and the water was icy cold. This course being agreed 251
upon, we went to the usual Chinese eating-house run by one Sour 265
Hak. Taken by surprise by our invasion, Sour Hak found himself
short of food. However, as these villages are completely cut off
during the six months' rainy season, there are always standbys for
emergency. Reaching to the top of the cupboard he found a hunk
of venison *boucané*, dusted it off and set it before us. This meat,
prepared in a manner similar to that employed by the Argentine
gauchos, was black, fine grained in texture as cheese, odourless and
tasted slightly of liquorice. According to the usages of life in the
bush, strips were cut off it with one's clasp knife. Fortunately, Sour
Hak was found, quite mysteriously, to have a stock of first-rate
Burgundy; doubtlessly bought in the belief that it was Algerian.
Dupont's sudden optimism was only lowered by Sour Hak's refusal 000
at any price to sell a green parakeet, which had flown in one day
and attached itself to the house. Since tasting civilization nothing
could persuade this bird to use its wings again, although like a true
Laotian it enjoyed being taken for a ride on a bicycle. Dupont's

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Laotians AM8

the greatest artistic interest. I asked the headman if it would be possible to take any, as the bonze was crumpling and smashing them vigorously with his broom. But the chief shook his head regretfully. Buddhism had degenerated in these remote provinces and was swamped with re-emergent spirit cults. These objects had been dedicated to the *phi*[1] and would have to be burnt in a ritual fire. The *phi* would also receive the burnt essence, I noticed, of a large, very obscene, and no doubt magically valuable picture.

At about this time when the bonze was treading underfoot the village's artistic output of several months, a party of Issarak or Viet-Minh, timing their action to coincide with the convoy's arrival at Moung Kassy, had set fire to the forest just south of the post. A steady breeze was blowing from that quarter, and the fire, started over a width of about a mile and fanning out as it advanced, moved slowly towards the fort.

Coming up over the river bank it took us some time to realize what was happening. There was a haze; but then there was always a haze in Laos, although by this time of day it should have been clearing and not thickening. And then we heard the crackling, punctuated with the sharp pops, which might have been distant rifle fire, but which were the explosions of thick stems of bamboo. Looking up then we saw the curtain of smoke hanging over Muong Kassy, white at the top, and black at its base and streaked occasionally by lance-points of flame, which were still two miles away.

We ran to where the car was parked, started it and tried to drive down the road towards the fire. Dupont was as pleased with it as July 14th. In about fifty yards we got tangled up with the convoy and had to leave the car on the side of the road and run on. The fire was advancing on a ragged front and was as irresistible as a volcano. Black smoke was being blown before it so that at first the flames were out of sight; but when they came through they were two hundred feet high – twice the height of the tallest tree. It went forward in zigzagging rushes; eating its way quickly through the bamboo

[1] [i.e., spirits. – Analyst]

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina
Laotians AM8

669 thickets, which went up like oil wells. A lane of fire had broken
726 right out of the general advance and its spear-point was wandering
731 up over the hill-side, already level with the fort. Large clumps of green forest were being left behind or encircled and then consumed at leisure as the fire went through the bamboo. It caught at the lianas, too, and went up a tree from top to bottom in shrivelling streamers – just like Christmas decorations catching fire. The noise of the exploding bamboos was becoming deafening and the sky was covered in a cloud through which black ash streamed up like flotsam carried on flood-waters. I noticed, though, that only the tops of some of the trees had caught on the other side of the road.

Orders were given to prepare to evacuate the fort. There was a great deal of ammunition and thousands of gallons of petrol, stored in cans, and the soldiers were swarming like ants stacking it in the road and loading the lorries. Confusion developed and matured into chaos, largely caused by the arrival of half the convoy, which blocked the road and prevented the lorries being driven out of the fort. Before an evacuation could be made the convoy had to be moved on through the village, but half the drivers couldn't be found. They had wandered off to look at the fire and taken their starting keys with them.

In the meanwhile the Laotians and Chinese rushing out of their houses with their beds and bedding, and piling their stocks of groceries between the wheels of the cars had made rapid movement impossible, even when the drivers could be rounded up. One family was actually at work taking their house down.

And then as an hour passed in struggling tumult with the convoy at last bludgeoned on through the village and safely parked on the other side, and hundreds of crates and cans loaded on to the lorries, the wind veered and the main front of the fire went by, about half a mile away. A few offshoots coming in our direction burned feebly for a while among the bamboos, and it was all over.

69: Lewis T-5 (1950) 1951 AM1 Indochina

1[M. Leveau, senior French official in Laos.--Analyst] Laotians AM8 Kha AM7

INTO THE MEO COUNTRY

After dinner, when the Conseiller[1] relaxed for an hour, he could sometimes be persuaded to talk about some of his problems. These were the chronic worries of the Issarak[2] and the Viet-Minh. To the west of Luang Prabang the frontier with Burma started, and Burmese irregulars crossed it from time to time. Chinese opium smugglers conducted a regular trade with the Meos, and turned pirate when business was bad. But now that the communists had taken over in Yunnan there was some signs of this traffic slackening. And then the Meos themselves. They were passing like a blight through the mountains. Leveau's ambition was to change their agricultural habits. If they could be persuaded to come down to 1000 feet he could give them irrigated rice-fields to cultivate, and had offered to provide the buffaloes to do the work. L 669 579 548

I brought up the question of the Khas. The Khas are the aboriginals of Laos and are, in fact, Moï tribes under another name. Several hundred years ago they were conquered and enslaved by the Laotian nation, and now Khas were to be seen hanging about the market places of Laotian towns and villages, utterly broken and degenerate; as helpless as the pathetic remnants of once powerful Indian tribes in North America. I asked if it was true that Laotians still possessed Kha slaves. Leveau smiled in his tolerant and sceptical Laotian way and said that it all depended what you meant by slavery. The slavery of the old West Indian plantation kind was unknown in the Far East. For superstitious if for no other reasons, the peoples of Indo-China always trod very gently when it came to oppression of others. The spirits of their ancestors had to be reckoned with, and they themselves if pushed too far might be forced to revenge themselves by the efficient, occult methods strangers were always imagined to possess. He cited the well-known fact of a collective bad-conscience on the part of the Vietnamese, who conduct special sacrifices and offer symbolical rent to the spirits of the unknown aboriginal possessors of the land they now occupy. Leveau believed that slavery did occasionally exist, but that it took more the form of a racial aristocracy maintaining a subject people in a condition of K 566 769 566

2["free men" of Laos and Cambodia.--Analyst]

he fled secretly by way of the Mékong, but Nang-Keo-Phimpha learned of his flight and had him pursued and massacred on his raft a little way downstream from the capital. 643* 175* 662

We can only conjecture as to the motives which impelled this princess, fiercer even than a Frédégonde or a Marguerite de Bourgogne, to make such a hecatomb of kings. Was she a blood-thirsty despot, or simply a royal Lampito with an exasperated temperament? (1) /62/ We do not know, but it is certain that she /582/

1. Marriages between brothers and sisters were always permitted in the royal family of Lan-Xang. They were forbidden, on the other hand, among the common people.

finally inspired such terror in the court that there was no one left to intrigue for the throne, the last two sons of Lane-Kham-Deng being too young.

Kam-Kheut, king 1435-1438.

It was then that Nang-Keo-Phimpha discovered the son of a palace slave girl who had once been singled out by King Sam-Sène-Thaï for her beauty. The young man, Xieng-Ma by name, conquered the Gorgon by his keen intelligence and a perfect knowledge of the events of the great reign of Oun-Hueun. She had no doubt but that he was her brother, and forced him on the court as sovereign under the name of Kham-Keut (golden birth). Whether the latter was a docile tool in the hands of the princess, or whether Nang-Keo-Phimpha became genuinely and profoundly attached to her creature, calm seemed permanently restored to the palace when Kham-Keut fell sick and died of dropsy after a three years' reign.

Death of Nang-Keo-Phimpha (1438). Then there was an explosion of hatred against Nang-Keo-Phimpha. This death was seen as a /63/ punishment inflicted on the kingdom by Heaven for having accepted a usurper. Anger got the better of fear, and the ministers arrested the princess, tied her to the rock of Pha-Dieou and had her shot. "Her body was abandoned to the crows and vultures." 669 643* 175*

SAI-TIAKAPHAT (1415), KING 1438-1479. 645

The Council of Ministers at once set out to choose a new king 175* 643*

coming down the great river, and in the following 643*
he repressed with no less vigor a new attempt on the 648*
part of this ambitious prince." We have been un- 175*
able to find any confirmation of this expedition in
the Laotian chronicles.

General Sene-Soulintha took command /91/ of the troops and 643*
brought them back to the capital, where he had difficulty in ex- 669
plaining the king's disappearance. Since the ministers and the 175*
queen, who had just brought a son named Nokeo-Koumane into the
world, affected not to believe him, he had the palace surrounded
and the prime minister Tian-Ta-Simmarath, the governor of
Vientiane, assassinated together with his partisans and proclaimed
himself regent (1).

1. The Annals state that the chief bonzes preached conciliation and succeeded in avoiding the conflict for three months.

SENE-SOULINTHA (1511), REGENT (1571-1575).

Nothing could have been more favorable to the plans of the 643*
king of Burma than the disappearance of Setthathirath, and espe- 648*
cially these court quarrels which he resolved to exploit without de- 175*
lay. To the highly questionable regent he opposed the rights to
the crown of the former Oupahat, whom he had kept at Ava as a
hostage since 1565. But his envoys were ignominiously massacred,
"a fact which shows to what a degree people in Lan-Xang still
thought they could scorn the Burmese provocations." In order to
avenge this outrage Bureng-Naung sent out an expedition which /726/
was weakly /92/ led by contingents from Xieng-Mai and even
from Siam, and which ended in complete failure. Then he multi-
plied his intrigues and worked behind discontented persons who
naively imagined that with their old Oupahat there would no longer
be anything to fear from Burma.

In spite of the opposition which he encountered, the regent held 643*
his power in Vientiane for four years. Sixty-one years old, he was 554
the son of a simple village chieftain whom King Phothisarath had 175*
singled out for his intelligence and bravery. Setthathirath had em-
ployed his skill in Xieng-Mai, where he had proved his military
talent against the Burmese and the pretenders to the throne of Lan-
Na. Promoted to the rank of general and governor of Muong-Sai,

glorious reign of thirty-two years, and his successors would not 648*
have the prestige or the authority of the great politician and great 175*
man of war who had disappeared to keep so vast an empire in one 643*
piece.

In Vientiane, however, the new king was not obeyed any more 669
than the regent had been, and the Oupahat saw a void growing up 175*
around him little by little. The situation grew worse in 1579 when 643*
the rumor spread that Setthathirath was not dead and that he had reappeared in the region of Attopeu (2). This was only an impostor

2. Cf. ibid. /P. Lefevre-Pontalis, "La lutte des Thais contre les Birmans au seizieme siecle." Revue indochinoise, 1914, Vol. XXII, Nos. 7-8./

who was exploiting the great memories left by the famous king and was trying to group the large number of discontented persons. Bureng-Naung sent his son to restore order once again in Lan-Xang, but the latter stayed there as short a time as /95/ possible and "did not prolong his sojourn in this detested land" beyond the dry season. Scarcely had he left Vientiane when a revolt drove out the Oupahat, who hastily embarked for Luang-Prabang and Ava. When he reached the pass of Keng-Chan his pirogues sunk and he was drowned with all his followers (1579).

SENE-SOULINTHA (1511), KING 1580-1582.

The king of Burma then offered the crown to his prisoner 648*
Soulintha. The former regent was allowed to return with all of the 643*
hostages captured in the course of the preceding wars to Vientiane, 175*
with the exception of the young Nokeo-Koumane, to be sure, and he mounted the throne in 1580.

His great age appeased the partisan struggles for a time, but at his death which occurred two years later they resumed more bitter than ever with the accession to the throne of his son Nakhone-Noi.

NAKHONE-NOI, KING 1582-1583.

Bureng-Naung was dead and his successor came up against the awakening of all the enslaved Thai princes. Overcome by the revolts which were being fomented in all parts of his empire, he was unable to impose his will on Lan-Xang. He was circumvented by /96/ a delegation from the court of Vientiane itself and gave orders for Nakhone-Noi to be deposed without making any provision for a successor.

557 the people, and finally took a major part in the direction of the king-
643* dom's affairs. Thammikarath was wounded in his paternal pride,
175* would not countenance this premature interference in his royal prero-
/578/ gatives, and treated his son as a rebel (1621).

OUPAGNOUVARATH (1598), KING 1622-1623.

669 Supported by the majority of the ministers and by /101/ one of
578 his brothers, Mone-Keo, Oupagnouvarath entered into an open struggle
643* against his father, defeated the troops who had remained faithful to
175* the latter in bloody battles, and had himself proclaimed king in Vientiane on the "Sunday, first day of the crescent moon of the fourth month of the year 984" (1622). Three months later, Thammikarath was killed at his orders, together with his last partisans, in Pha-Deng. The epilogue of this somber family drama was not long in coming, for Oupagnouvarath died the following year under unknown circumstances.

662 With his death the intrigues for the crown began all over again,
175* and during a new period of nearly fifteen years, which the confusion of the Annals obscures as if intentionally, princes succeeded one another in Vientiane without any reference point for the chronicler and without any probable date which would make it possible to establish even an approximate chronology.

PHOTHISARAT II, KING 1623-1627.

643* We may nevertheless agree that it was one of Sene-Soulintha's sons
175* who seized power in 1623 under the name of Phothisarath (a fact which further complicates this imbroglio).

/102/ MONE-KEO, OUPAGNAOVARATH, TONE-KHAM, VISAI, KINGS 1627-1637.

The national dynasty resumed its prerogatives in 1627 with, successively, Oupagnouvarath's brother Mone-Keo, Mone-Keo's son named Oupagnaovarath (?), and finally with the latter's two sons Tone-Kham and Visai. The last-named died in 1637 (1).

648* 1. It was fortunate for Lan-Xang that the Burmese had been
175* driven back by the Thais of the Menam and had abandoned all action in the territories once subject to the rule of Bureng-Naung. If this had not been the case the historian of today would doubtless be somewhat more clear as to the events of the time, but Lan-Xang would certainly have sunk permanently into anarchy and into the partitioning which

643* 175* The Oupahat Chao-Anou. A clever politician, the Oupahat was able to conceal his true sentiments and maintain the attitude of deference which circumstances imposed on him with respect to the sovereign. He thereby gained the trust of the court of Bangkok, and the Siamese chronicles acknowledge his courage and the unquestionable service which he rendered to Siam for nearly twenty years (1). Thus when Chao-In died he was immediately designated

1. Cf. H.R.H. Phanuphanthuvongswardja, op. cit. /Repression de la revolte de Vientiane. Bangkok, 1926./

as his successor.

CHAO-ANOU, KING 1805-1828.

643* 648* 175* This reign, which was to end in the total and final ruin of the principality, therefore began under the most favorable auspices. /160/ Siam granted him the investiture with great pomp, and when Anou took power he was able to strengthen an authority of which the kings of Vientiane had long been dispossessed.

Appointment of Chao-Ngo to the government of Bassac (1819). He strengthened still further his friendship with Bangkok, and climaxed his reputation as a valorous warrior by his opportune intervention, in 1819, in a revolt of the Khas of the province of Bassac. /669/ He succeeded in persuading Siam to place his son Chao-Ngo, who had commanded the police column, in charge of the government of this important province. He thereby extended his sphere of action as far as the old southern frontiers of Lan-Xang, thus effacing, in some measure, the grievous consequences of the reverses suffered in 1778.

In the years which followed he seemed to devote his attention solely to beautifying his capital, but in reality he was only waiting for an opportunity to raise the standard of revolt. From the time of his accession to the throne he had renewed his homage to the new emperor Gia-Long (1), and in 1820 he had secretly undertaken

1. "In the 11th month of the 4th year 1806 Chao-Anou, prince of Vientiane, sent an embassy (to Hue) bringing a tribute composed of two elephants, two rhinoceros horns, 800 pounds of cinnamon bark and a letter of which the following is a summary: 'The State of Vientiane has long

How could I, the chieftain of a small State, have done so, when 648*
the emperor of Annam found the undertaking beyond his strength?" 175*

Minh-Mang scorned to answer this impertinent reply and contented himself with having the accused man executed with great pomp. He even granted him magnificent funeral rites. Chao-Noi's family had their lives spared, and his children remained in Hue for five years and were then exiled to Hatinh.

The kingdom of Xieng-Khouang had the same fate /179/ as /635/
that of Vientiane, and was suppressed. It was annexed to Annam and became a prefecture of the empire, divided into eight huyen, under the name of Tran-Ninh-Phu-Tam-Vien. A Quan-Phu was placed over it and settled at Muong-Kham with a garrison of five hundred soldiers (1).

1. Cf. Captain de Pelacot, op. cit. /"Le Tran-Ninh historique." Revue indochinoise, Hanoi, 1896./

II. -- LUANG-PRABANG

KING-KITSARATH, KING 1707-1726.

King-Kitsarath and Intha-Som, who had long been united in 643*
misfortune and in their stubborn struggle against Thao-Nong and 175*
Ong-Hue (2), fell out shortly after their common victory.

2. See above, p. 133.

Revolt of Intha-Som. Jealous of his brother's authority and 669●
discontent with the limited role which he was henceforth to play, 175*
Intha-Som intrigued against King-Kitsarath and commissioned Ong-Ek, the prince of Tran-Ninh and his "inseparable friend" (3), to

3. Ong-Ek was, according to certain chronicles, the father-in-law of Ong-Hue.

assemble troops secretly. A small army was formed of highly disparate elements recruited in Muong-Ou, in /180/ Dien-Bien-Phu and even in Burma and Yunnan. Then when he thought himself ready for action Intha-Som took charge of the operations and entered into open revolt against his brother.

King-Kitsarath had to undertake a veritable expedition. The

669 royal troops succeeded in dispersing the partisans of Intha-Som and
175* forced them, after a bloody encounter, to retreat in disorder along the Nam-Ou. Ong-Ek swam across the river and fled to Phoutong-Nongboua. As for Intha-Som, he was able to gain the Sip-Song-Panas where he kept a close watch on events and waited for a more favorable opportunity.

Finally free to organize his conquest, King-Kitsarath endeavored to restore some measure of order in the kingdom, which was greatly in need thereof. Aided by his cousin Khamone-Noi (1), he succeeded

1. See p. 133.

within a few years in restoring tranquillity to his subjects. Luang-
/633/ Prabang, once again a royal metropolis, was slowly repopulated and resumed the foremost place in a diminished State.

633 Gracefully stretching across the junction of the Mekong and the
175* Nam-Khane and dominated by the verdant hill of the "Phou-Si," the
133 city regained some of its animation and gradually became covered /181/ with new buildings grouped around the ancient pagodas which recalled the past grandeur of the legendary Muong-Swa.

"Moreover, the configuration of the principality's territory and the particular topography of the region combined at this river junction to provide all the elements for the prosperity of a great city. Luang-Prabang is in fact contained in the immediate zone where the region's three great navigable watercourses converge on the Mekong. These watercourses (Nam-Ou, Nam-Suong, Nam-Khane) have in the past favored the political centralization of the country as well as trade relations with China, Tonkin and Annam. Whereas both upstream and downstream for a distance of several hundred kilometers the banks of the river are constantly cut deep between the mountains and nowhere offer a surface of flat land which would lend itself to large agglomerations, here nature has provided on both banks a broad extent of land which can be cultivated as ricefields and is capable of supplying all the needs of a large population" (1).

1. Cf. Captain Cupet, Mission Pavie, Vol. III /Voyages au Laos et chez les sauvages du Sud-Est de l'Indochine (1900)/, p. 34.

643* At his death, which occurred about 1726, King-Kitsarath left
595 three daughters born of three different wives /182/ /Page 182 is
175*

devoted to an illustration: "Junction of the Nam-Khane and the Mekong at Luang-Prabang." --Translator/ /183/ whom he had chosen in Luang-Prabang itself from the families of his mandarins. 643* 595 175*

KHAMONE-NOI, KING 1726-1727.

Khamone-Noi succeeded him and took as wives two of the dead king's daughters, Thene-Sao and Thene-Kham. But Intha-Som at once began to agitate. Not daring to hope that the family of the Sip-Song-Panas would lend him aid against one of its children, he addressed himself to some newcomers to the land who had been infiltrating for some time into the valley of the Nam-Ou. These were the "Mousseux," mountainfolk driven out of Yunnan by the religious wars (1). Although their temperament was not at all war- /595/ 175* 669 643* 563 /167/

1. Violent Moslem rebellions were then devastating southern China.

like, these fugitives nevertheless agreed, since they had no choice, to lend their aid to Intha-Som. In return the latter promised their leaders La-Nga and Noli that he would recognize and confirm their occupation of Muong-Yo and Boun-Neua as soon as he became king. 721 643* 175* 669 563

Submission of Intha-Som (1726). But the Mousseux (2), al-

2. The word "Mousseux" is the word which most nearly approaches the native appellation. With their slender figures, their rather white coloration, their prominent cheekbones and their well-shaped and not flattened noses, the "Mousseux" type has a greater affinity with the Indo-European type than with the yellow race type. /142/

though they were supported by Nha-No- '184/ Muong of Muong-La, failed in their march on Luang-Prabang and Intha-Som had no other recourse than to make his submission. He gave up his weapons, took an oath of obedience and fidelity in the pagoda of Xieng-Thong, and was given permission to live in the capital, where he settled near the Vat-Visoun with a large retinue of Mousseux.

He was quite determined not to keep his word. The king, moreover, was not at all worried and did not even have him watched.

643* 157 175* /224/ Khamone-Noi seems to have been a most unusual man, and it is to be regretted that we cannot paint a more precise picture of him. Brought up at first as an exile in Vientiane, far from his native land, then the companion of Souligna's grandsons in their peregrinations, and finally king of Luang-Prabang which he had to leave in order to combat the Burmese and mount the throne of Xieng-Mai, this wandering prince experienced a thousand adventures which he faced with equanimity, manifesting on all occasions, both good and bad, a surprisingly philosophical humor and a most unusual carefreeness. He had one passion, hunting, to which he devoted all his time and which gained him the surname "Ong-Nok," the /185/ prince of the birds (unless it meant the prince who was "always out").

669 643* 175* Intha-Som's bold stroke (1727). One day in 1727 when he was away from Luang-Prabang and, as the Annals say, in the company of Phya-Keo, Thai-Sang, Chabane, Thao-Bang-Khom and Thao-Bang-Houak, Intha-Som suddenly closed the gates of the city and occupied the palace. The maneuver was not accomplished without some disturbance, and on the way back Khamone-Noi had wind of some kind of treachery. He sent Thao-bang-Houak up to the approaches of the capital to find out what was going on. When he learned of the defection of all those in whom he had placed his confidence he halted, bewildered, and broke a gold carafe which he was holding in his hands. Then, as if ashamed of a gesture of anger which he had not been able to repress, he turned on his heel, leaving his companions free to follow him or not as they wished, and set out calmly in the direction of Xieng-Mai where new destinies awaited him.

This is how tradition relates the last part of this odd man's life:

643* 175* Odyssey of Khamone-Noi. "The inhabitants of Luang Prabang had grown tired of seeing /186/ their king always absent from the palace and neglecting the management of their affairs. One day as he was returning from a long outing he was surprised to find the gates of his palace solidly closed. The people whom he met avoided him or fled when he approached. Some children who had gathered round and who were looking at him curiously said to him: 'You are never there, the leaders and the people are not satisfied, they have closed the gates of your palace so that you can leave it.' Then Khamone-Noi went away sadly, entered the pagoda of

579 ravaging the region of Dien-Bien-/246/ Phu as far as Muong-Ngoi.
563 King Oun-Kham was growing old and carefree and felt incapable,
727 when left entirely to his own resources, of calming the mortal dis-
175* quietude of his people. Thus Siamese agents, the number of whom
/648/* was constantly on the increase, were welcomed all along the Upper Mekong as the only protectors from whom effective aid could be expected.

636 Relations with the cantons of the Black River. The man Cam-
175* Sinh, who was of Chinese origin himself, was nevertheless a friend of the princes of Luang-Prabang, but he was then too preoccupied with driving the invaders out of his own domains to lend any support to his neighbor.

His remote ancestors were military mandarins in Quang-Si and had settled three hundred years previously in Muong-Lai, which they had pacified in behalf of the king of Anna. Their authority extended around Lai-Chau as far as Yunnan in the north and Muong Theng in the south (Dien-Bien-Phu, the legendary cradle of the Laotian race). At this time they had reached a peaceful agreement
/728/ with the kings of Lan-Xang, most likely Nokeo-Koumane or Thammi-Karath who had just /247/ shaken off the Burmese yoke (1) and who

1. See above, pp. 97 and 100.

were glad to give them charge of the "white" and "black" Thais of the region in exchange for a triennial payment of thirty-three taels of silver "and one horse" (2). Relations had subsequently become

2. Cf. the Chronicle of Muong-Lai given by Deo-van-Tri to Auguste Pavie in 1894.

completely friendly and trusting to such a degree that when Cam-Sinh was in conflict with several of his relatives around 1850 he had not hesitated to place two of his children, one of whom was Deo-van-Tri, in Souka-Seum's hands (3).

3. See above, p. 213, note.

669 Revolt of the Khas of Muong-Ngoi (1876). It was not until 1876,
175* after he had temporarily driven back the Yellow Flags, that he was
563 able to send any reinforcements to Oun-Kham to sustain the struggle

against the revolted Khas. But scarcely had the latter made their submission when Cam-Sinh was again overwhelmed by a return offensive of the pirates in his territory, and then soon drawn by his ally Liu-Vinh-Phuoc into the ambush warfare which the emperor of Annam was sustaining in the Tonkinese delta against the French of Francis Garnier and Henri Riviere. 669 175* 563 /648/*

/248/ Siamese occupation (1883-1885). The old king Oun-Kham was therefore left to confront the ever-threatening Hos by himself, as well as a populace which was perpetually on the qui-vive and Siamese who were settling daily in his land in increasing numbers as in a conquered country. The latter redoubled their activities when the French advance in Tonkin, despite a thousand setbacks, resulted in the protectorate treaty of August 25, 1883 which posed the problem of Annam's political frontiers in a precise way. Bangkok's agents immediately enlisted Laotian recruits, marched against Xieng-Kham and once more besieged the Hos in their entrenched positions, but they suffered so grave a setback (1) 648* 175*

1. The Siamese general Phya-Khon-Thay was killed and his troops disbanded.

that King Chulalongkorn decided to send out a large force immediately and place the whole upper country to the north and east of Luang-Prabang and as far as the approaches to the Black River under military occupation.

Upon his arrival in October 1885 the Chao-Meun-Vai-Voronat (2),

2. He was elevated to the dignity of "Phya" Surrissak upon his return to Bangkok in 1887. (See below, p. 271.)

who was commander-in-chief of the occupation forces, took effective possession of the principality, entrusted its administration to two commissioners or Kaluongs who were stationed /249/ with King Oun-Kham, and himself went into the field in a prudent march towards Tran-Ninh and the Houa-Phans, taking the oupahat Souvanna-Phouma and one of his sons with him as hostages rather than as comrades in arms.

/250/ /Blank page/

648* possible be done to halt the Siamese invasion." /300/ Then on
175* January 2, 1891 he set out with Deo-van-Tri for Lai and the Sip-Song-Panas.

669 Reconnaissance in the Sip-Song-Panas (January-June 1891). Three
175* months later he reached Xieng-Houng, the capital, to find a young queen who was in anguish over the danger to which her husband the king was exposed in a war on the other bank of the Mekong against one of his brothers who was desirous of taking his crown from him. Pavie's reputation had preceded him in these remote regions where the memory of the Lagree mission's passage had not been lost. His intervention was therefore solicited and he succeeded, by his personal authority, in reconciling the two adversaries. When he had gathered all the ethnographical and political information which he had come to seek in these parts, he returned to Tonkin by crossing southern Yunnan to reach the Red River at Man-Hao and go down it to Hanoi.

175* There he learned that Siam's intrigues had not been modified, but
648* had become worse from north to south between the Mekong and the Cordillere. Levies of extra troops, provisioning in weapons and munitions, construction of forts and, in short, veritable preparations for war were going forward. /301/ Pavie felt it to be an urgent matter for Paris itself to determine "a line of conduct in tune with the circumstances," and declining the offer which Bangkok made to resume the talks, he embarked for France on July 7, 1891, taking with him four youths from Deo-van-Tri's family whom the latter had sent to begin their studies in the Colonial School.

The affair of Ton-Xieng-Kham (September 1891). Shortly after his arrival news reached Paris that great difficulties were accumulating on the Annamite frontiers, where the Siamese advance posts had advanced beyond the dividing line of the Chain, "causing disorder among the populace which was urgently demanding that the governor general use force to repulse the invaders." The forbearance which the French government had too long manifested by remaining content with vague formulas of protest had evidently been interpreted in Bangkok as an indication of indifference or weakness, and the boldness of the Siamese agents in Pavie's absence soon knew no bounds. Thus in Tran-Ninh a force of thirty Siamese regulars surrounded /302/ the house of the Annamite huyen (1) of Tong-Xieng-Kham on September

1. Pavie called him "Bambien" and his native companions "Chao-Muong."

Franco-Siamese treaty of October 7, 1902. Finally after more than three years of negotiations which were skilfully terminated in Paris by the Phyas Sri and Suriya, a new treaty was signed on October 7, 1902 by the terms of which we gave Siam back its liberty on the right bank of the river in exchange for the return to the French authorities of the territories of Melouprey and Tonle-Repou in Cambodia and of Bassac in Lower Laos. The king of Luang-Prabang obtained the frontier correction /343/ which he had been claiming for nine years, but we allowed Siam to retain the status of suzerain with respect to our protege as regarded this large part of his domains. As for our Asiatic nationals residing in Siam, we lost touch with them to such a degree that the revision of their lists was left to the entire discretion of the Siamese authorities. 648* 175*

This treaty provoked the sharpest and most fully justified protests on the part of the colonial group in the Chamber. How had the high competence of Auguste Pavie and the repeated advice of our successive ministers in Bangkok led the Quai d'Orsay to conclude a treaty which did not decide anything and which, in exchange for slight territorial satisfactions in the south, completely abandoned our influence over the whole Laotian right bank to the north of the Se-Moun? Under the pressure of parliament, which refused to ratify the treaty, the talks had to be resumed with more care given to "making our rights and interests respected."

Insurrection of the Khas of Lower Laos (1901-1907). The necessity for reaching some kind of agreement, however, was becoming all the more desirable on both sides in that Lower Laos had for /344/ about a year been the theater of an insurrection, as violent as it was singular, by the Khas on both banks of the Mekong. L K 669● 175* 563

The fief of Bassac, which was administered by the descendants of Chao-Houy (1) in behalf of the king of Siam, had lost much of its L K /636/

1. See above, pp. 168; 177, note 2 and 328, note 1.

importance for the latter ever since the treaty of 1893 had amputated the muongs of Saravane and Attopeu. All this region, which was populated mainly by Khas (Boloven, Alak, Nha-Heun, on the left bank), had been only sparsely colonized by a few Phou-Thai and Laotian families, and Siamese domination over these tribes which were refractory to all authority had never been more effective than the purely nominal domination of the old kings of Vientiane (2).

2. See above, p. 90, the campaign of Setthathirath in

K Attopeu and p. 160, the first known rebellion of the Khas
L of Bassac.
669
175* In fact the region had long been a vast supply ground for slaves --
563 "Annamites generally, whom the turbulent and hardly Khas went and kidnaped on the other side of the watershed chain" and bartered on the banks of the Mekong for buffalo, gongs, metals and cloth, of which they stood in permanent need.

K /567/ The cause of the rebellion of 1901, which /345/ arose in the region of Oubone and spread like wildfire, remains highly obscure. Doubtless the abolition of slavery by King Chulalongkorn and the prohibition against engaging in this traffic which was pronounced by our first administrators were not unconnected with the mystical fervor which agitated the Khas, who were tacitly supported by those

K /791/ Laotian functionaries who had suddenly been deprived of profitable dealings. Whatever the case may be, these basically superstitious people were inflamed by their sorcerers or "Phou-Mi-Boun," who resembled messiahs and in whose supernatural gifts they had an unshakeable faith, and they declared war against the established order for the purpose of imposing the authority of their ringleaders, who alone were worthy, in their eyes, of "governing men and causing justice to reign among them" (1). In March 1901 the situation had

L 1. Cf. J.-J. Dauplay, Les terres rouges du plateau des
K Boloven. Saigon, 1929, p. 55.
113

become so grave on the plateau of the Bolovens that M. Remy, the
L government commissioner in Saravane, was surrounded together with
K some fifteen militiamen in the pagoda of Thateng by 1500 Khas,
669 almost all of whom were armed with flintlock rifles, and that he
175* owed his own salvation only to a forceful resistance. "A few days
563 later the whole plateau was up in arms. All the villages /346/ had followed the Phou-Mi-Boun, without distinction of race. They had, moreover, scarcely any other alternative, for the lukewarm and hesitant individuals were simply massacred" (1).

1. Cf. J.-J. Dauplay, op. cit. /Les terres rouges du plateau des Boloven. Saigon, 1929./, p. 60.

The rebels' success had no aftermath, however, and thanks to

AM1 Indochina
Laotians AM8
Kha AM7

the resolute action of administrator Remy the situation was greatly improved in the spring of 1902. "The fact that the Phou-Mi-Boun were powerless to perform the slightest miracle was recognized by all the insurgents, three-quarters of whom had made their submission and reintegrated their villages. . . . But other agitators, also from Siam (2), had already abandoned the plateau and directed

L
K
669
175*
563

2. Thrown back to the Mekong from the territory of Oubone by the Siamese military forces sent against them.

their efforts against Savannakhet and Vientiane. At about eight in the morning on April 19, 1902 the Savannakhet commissariat was surrounded by hordes of Laotians, bands of inspired folk who marched, sang and played the khene, convinced that the bullets from our rifles would change into frangipane flowers. It was necessary to open fire in order to free the capital. They left 150 dead on the square, and probably carried off as many wounded. On our side losses were limited to one militiaman killed and two wounded. Then everything became calm again" (1).

1. Cf. J.-J. Dauplay, op. cit. /Les terres rouges du plateau des Boloven. Saigon, 1929./, pp. 62 and 64. "Vientiane was also seething with agitators, and the Europeans there spent more than one anxious night. In fact, however, peace and order was never disturbed." P. 63.

From then on the revolt seemed to be throttled. It nevertheless lasted longer than was reasonable as a result of the lack of agreement between the heads of the provinces involved, who could not settle on an overall plan of action "against the rebel chieftains who had taken refuge (with their last partisans) in the wooded mountains of the left bank of the Sekong." The latter were able to hold out in their dens for more than four years, and not until 1906-1907, when discord spread among them, did they make their submission "discouraged and dying of hunger" (2).

2. "In the case of one of the rebel chieftains, the famous Bac-My, his so-called submission was only a pretense designed to lull our vigilance, to enable him to recruit partisans and above all to procure arms from Siam. This was so true that he had to be suppressed towards the end of 1910.

L
K
669
175*
563
648*
175*

As for the Boloven-Khomadan, he never made his submission. He still lives with his partisans on the mountain of Phou-Luouang in the northeast of the plateau." Cf. ibid., p. 65.

Franco-Siamese treaty of February 13, 1904. In the meantime the governments in Bangkok and Paris had succeeded in reaching an agreement on a rough and ready compromise, in /348/ an obviously reciprocal desire to end all misunderstandings and to restore between France and Siam the friendly relations of former times which were now seen to be more indispensable than ever between immediate neighbors.

By the new treaty of February 13, 1904 Siam confirmed its previous territorial cessions, and also renounced all rights of suzerainty over the territories of Luang-Prabang situated on the right bank of the Mekong. For its part, France continued its 1902 policy of renouncing all rights to the 25-kilometer zone, but obtained permission to retain seven establishments there (by application of Article 6 of the treaty of 1893 which had authorized boat relays, storehouses for wood, etc. for the development of navigation on the river). It was understood that the list of our Asiatic proteges would not be revised, and future enrollments would be limited to subjects placed directly under the authority of French jurisdiction. Finally, the treaty provided for mixed commissions composed of officers which should shortly undertake to delimit the new frontier "between the kingdom of Siam and the territories forming French Indo-China."

The goodwill of the negotiators /349/ triumphed over the complexity of the interests at stake and their entanglements. Thus signatures were exchanged to general satisfaction and ratification was obtained without any comment.

Franco-Siamese relations since 1904. The mixed commissions began their work in Cambodia almost immediately in an atmosphere of cordial collaboration. We were able to evacuate Chantaboun in 1905 at the very beginning. We obtained a broad protective zone surrounding Kratt in the region included between Tonle-Sap and the sea, and the operations which were subsequently carried out in Laos awarded us the district of Dan-Sai which runs southwards for some hundred kilometers alongside the territory of Luang-Prabang. Profiting by these gracious marks of a sincerely friendly spirit, Commander Bernard, the leader of the French mission, skilfully reintroduced the

and, even as they retain their smiling native good nature, they are becoming increasingly adapted with each passing day to the rude necessities of modern existence in the hectic struggle between individuals and peoples. 643* 178

Nearly identical results have been achieved in the other parts of Laos where /354/ the influence of our administrators is exercised in a more direct manner, even though it is still usually based on the ascendancy which the local mandarins have retained over the populace.

Annexation of the territory of Bassac (1905). It was thus that the territory of Bassac on the right bank, which was in full disorder when it was returned to France, was pacified by the Laotian "governor" whom we appointed there. Annexed in January 1905 to the province of Ban-Mouang, this territory had been abandoned in the previous year by the oupahat Boua-Laphan, who was the successor of King Kham-Souk (1) and who had taken refuge at Ban-Toung- 635 175*

1. See above, p. 328.

Loung in the Siamese district of Oubone. In a most loyal manner Chao-Nhouy, one of Kham-Souk's sons, offered us his services and took an oath of fidelity before Superior Resident Mahe on October 14, 1905. He was named governor of the region, and since then has not ceased to give the French administration the benefit of his influence and his devotion (2).

2. The "delegation" which replaced the commercial agency in Bassac was discontinued in 1908 and the capital of the circumscription, which took the name of province of Bassac, was transferred from Ban-Mouang to Pakse.

/355/ The Khas of Lower Laos. The Khas of Lower Laos have remained perfectly peaceful ever since their 1901 escapade was suppressed. They have even tended imperceptibly to come out of their fierce isolation as new means of communication have connected their villages, which only yesterday were hidden in the brush, with the vast network of roads now under construction which will soon open up the Laotian hinterland (1). 563 669

1. The question of the Indo-Chinese "Moi hinterland"

563 669 deserves full study but would be beyond the scope of the present work, which is strictly limited to an account of historical events.

The mountain tribes of Upper Laos. The mountain tribes of Upper Laos, on the other hand, have been subject to more or less violent unrest during the period 1914-1921.

The Lus of Muong Sing and of the Sip-Song-Panas, as well as the representatives of the many races which inhabit this land with a chaotic relief structure, had previously accepted the establishment of French guardianship without any hostile reaction, for the misdeeds of the Lu chieftain Van-Na-Poum, who was, all in all, only a common bandit who robbed the people by force of arms /356/ and was killed in 1910 by our militia after he had wounded Inspector Nollin, who was sent to arrest him, cannot be regarded as acts of out-and-out rebellion. But in the first months of the World War the Yunnanese frontier, which was well-known to smugglers and brigands, was troubled by a marked recrudescence of outlawry, and suddenly in November 1914 Chinese bands, which were probably encouraged by Annamite agitators in contact with the Germans who had been expelled from Indo-China, broke out in the Muong-Hou and the Houa-Phan, burned the capital at Sam-Neua, at which time Administrator Lambert was massacred, killed Militia Inspector Tuyaa who was sent against them, and spread terror throughout the whole region.

624 669 1. The Muong-Sing incident (1914-1916). Phra-Ong-Kham, the Chao-Fa of Muong-Sing, who was the son and the successor in 1907 of the prince who had spontaneously turned to Auguste Pavie in the past when he wished to escape British domination (1), did not share

1. See above, p. 331.

his father's sentiments with regard to France's representatives. His abuses of his power had gained him vigorous protests on the part of the government commissioner's delegate, and he had sworn to /357/ revenge himself on the latter by -- quite simply -- having him assassinated. His plot was discovered and he fled to China (December 2), from which point he gave active help to the brigands by inciting his subjects to revolt and by propagating false rumors designed to discredit French prestige among the populace.

Even though the latter responded half-heartedly at best to his

urgings, no less than three successive expeditions (the Sourisseau, Friquegnon and Dussault columns) and two years of difficult and costly operations were necessary to restore order and suppress the Yunnanese bands. The deposition of the Chao-Fa -- applicable both to himself and his heirs -- was decreed in April 1916, and the former principality was converted into a simple "muong." Phra-Ong-Kham died in China in 1923, and when his family offered to make its submission it was given permission to return to Muong-Sing.

2. The Meo rebellion (1919-1921). While these events were transpiring the Meos, who lived mainly high up on the peaks of Luang-Prabang and Tran-Ninh (1), had maintained a proper atti-

1. See above, p. 212.

tude even though approached by the Chao-Fa and the /358/ Chinese brigands. Nor had they seemed at first to pay any more attention to the movement which their fellows in Tonkin had just initiated in the basin of the upper Black River.

Continuing to live apart from other races in jealous isolation, they had nevertheless seemed for some time past to be moving towards closer terms with the provincial administration, which had succeeded in interesting them in road projects. But in July 1919 one of the leaders of the Tonkin rebellion who was being pursued by our troops and was called Batchay came to seek refuge among them. From this lair he sent out emissaries whose mission it was to devote themselves to secret propaganda efforts among the Meo groupings of Upper Laos in favor of a king who, "accomplishing the will of Heaven, was to bring them happiness, peace and prosperity." The rumor rapidly circulated among these credulous tribes that a prophecy which had fallen from the sky was summoning all Meos to revolt and form a great independent kingdom with its capital at Dien-Bien-Phu or Muong-Heup. To the accompaniment of incantations and magic formulas, the able-bodied population was called to march against the Laotians, Khas and Annamites and to build the palace of the awaited sovereign.

/359/ In vain did the king of Luang-Prabang send messages to the Meo leaders in protest against these absurd rumors. Within a few weeks armed bands were formed which began to ransom and pillage the villages of Tran-Ninh, Luang-Prabang and the Houa-Phan. Our militia had to occupy the outpost of Muong-Heup, which

L was attacked on August 15. It repulsed the assaillants, two of which
M were killed and some ten wounded. The Muong-Ngoi outpost was
563 then reinforced by riflemen under the command of Lieutenant
669 Distanti, and detachments led by Laotian leaders scoured the coun-
● try. On September 23, however, Lieutenant Distanti fell into an ambush and suffered a mortal wound, and in October we committed the error of evacuating Muong-Heup, an action which heightened Batchay's prestige still further and provoked a veritable panic among the terrorized populace.

The matter was becoming serious, and reinforcements had to be sent from Hanoi and Saigon. A military column was organized and placed under the direction of Colonel Angeli, who was able to free the plateau of Xieng-Khouang and part of the Houa-Phan only after fierce battles at Ban-Ban, Bergerie, Ban-Phadeng and Pakkha /360/ (January-May 1920). At the same time attempts had been made to enter into negotiations with the principal rebel leaders so as to open their eyes to the dangers and ordeals into which they were drawing their families. A few submissions were obtained in this manner, but when the rainy season halted all operations Batchay profited from the respite in order to regroup his partisans east of Nam-Ou.

In December Commander Dorey resumed the offensive, and despite the many obstacles in a "land bristling with mountains, sown with ambushes and devoid of all resources" succeeded in driving the Meos "from one entrenched position to the next," harrying them without respite, encircling them and decimating them with such rapidity that a month later all their bands were either destroyed or had surrendered, that Batchay was in flight and abandoned by the last survivors, and that the column could be disbanded in March 1921 (1).

1. Batchay's refuge was not discovered until October 1922. Surprised by Khas in the vicinity of Muong-Heup, he was killed by the latter on November 17.

Thus ended, almost as suddenly as it had broken out, this surprising insurrection which was uniquely due to the fanatacism of skittish and excessively superstitious tribes which were /361/ blindly obedient (like the southern Khas towards the Phou-Mi-Boun) to leaders who imposed on them by practices drawn from the lowest kind of sorcery. It is indeed a proven fact that the Meos had not been exposed to the

influence of any foreign propaganda and that their revolt did not at any time assume the character of an anti-French manifestation. Thus their uprising had no repercussions on the other ethnic groups in Laos, which in spirit and in deed stood behind our repressive measures. L M 563 669

They returned in peace to their agricultural labors (chiefly the cultivation of poppies) in their precipitous solitudes. A special administrative statute gave them the cantonal and communal autonomy which they desired, with no Laotian or Annamite intermediary. No matter how infrequent their contacts with the populations of the valleys and plains, it is quite certain that racial antagonism (exploited by agitators during the revolt) was maintaining a state of mind among their groupings which was suspicious and devoid of friendliness towards the native authorities. The reforms which were put into effect seem to have yielded good results. In the same way, a prudent policy towards the still unsubdued tribes of Lower Laos, one which will avoid direct conflict with their customs /362/ and prejudices, will gradually tame these last representatives of another age whom the opening-up of means of communication will finally incorporate into the larger Indo-Chinese family. L M 563 636 609 178 563

/ Pages 363-367 contain a Bibliography. Page 368 is blank. Pages 369-375 contain an Alphabetical Index of Names Mentioned. Page 376 is blank. --Translator/ 000